

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MADRID 06199 01 OF 03 020942Z
ACTION EUR-08

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 MADRID 06199

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MARR, MASS, OREP, SP

SUBJECT: PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF SPANISH
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER GUTIERREZ
MELLADO; IMPLEMENTATION OF DEFENSE ASPECTS OF THE TREATY
OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

REF: MADRID 5135 (DTG 101819Z MAY 78)

1. SUMMARY. AS FORECAST IN THE REFERENCED TELEGRAM, FIRST
VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER MANUEL GUTIERREZ
MELLADO HOPES TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO
DISCUSS DIRECTLY WITH SECRETARY BROWN SPANISH UNHAPPINESS
WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION BY THE U.S. OF DEFENSE ASPECTS OF
THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION. THIS UNHAPPINESS
REFLECTS PRINCIPALLY, ALTHOUGH NOT ENTIRELY, THE SPANISH
PERCEPTION OF THE GAP BETWEEN OUR TREATY RELATIONSHIP AND
THE LESS FAVORABLE TREATMENT SPAIN RECEIVES IN COMPARISON
TO MEMBERS OF NATO WITH RESPECT TO ARMS SALES, TECHNOLOGY
TRANSFER AND CO-PRODUCTION. THERE IS ALSO CONCERN ABOUT
THE LOSS THROUGH INFLATION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND THE
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PAGE 02 MADRID 06199 01 OF 03 020942Z

COST OF FMS CREDITS. GUTIERREZ MELLADO USED THE OCCASION
OF THE VISIT TO HIS OFFICE OF CODEL BURTON ON MAY 29 TO
UNDERLINE HIS CONCERNS ON A PERSONAL BASIS, AND RECEIVED A
SYMPATHETIC HEARING FROM THEM. THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT WILL
BE MAKING A MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR A VISIT BY
GUTIERREZ MELLADO THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.
END SUMMARY.

2. A HALF-HOUR APPOINTMENT WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO ARRANGE FOR CODEL BURTON (CONGRESSMEN BURTON, WILSON, CLAWSON, GARCIA AND CORRADA) EXTENDED TO A WARM AND FRANK EXCHANGE OF A FULL HOUR. THEY EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR SPAIN AND ITS NEW DEMOCRACY. GUTIERREZ MELLADO EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULT AND THUS FAR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO CREATE A MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN SPAIN AND SPOKE WITH REAL AFFECTION OF THE KING HE SAID IT WAS THE GOVERNMENT'S AND HIS HOPE THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO VISIT THE U.S. IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO TALK WITH SECRETARY BROWN ABOUT U.S.-SPANISH DEFENSE RELATIONS. A SPECIFIC SUGGESTION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE SPANISH SIDE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THE CODEL ENCOURAGED HI TO VISIT WASHINGTON. CONGRESSMEN GARCIA AND CORRADA SAID THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CAUCUS IN THE HOUSE RECEIVE GUTIERREZ MELLADO, AND CONGRESSMAN CORRADA ADDED THAT HE AND THE GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO WOULD ALSO WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE GUTIERREZ MELLADO VISIT THERE.

3. SPEAKING INFORMALLY AND PERSONALLY, GUTIERREZ MELLADO THEN DEVOTED THE BULK OF THE APPOINTMENT TO DISCUSSION OF THE MOTIVATION FOR THIS PROSPECTIVE VISIT. HE SAID HE WAS NOT A DIPLOMAT BUT THUS FAR HAD BEEN LUCKY IN HAVING A GOOD REACTION FROM SPAIN'S FRIENDS WHEN HE SPOKE FRANKLY TO THEM. THE U.S. AND SPAIN WERE OLD FRIENDS, AND THAT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MADRID 06199 01 OF 03 020942Z

FRIENDSHIP HAD A VERY SERIOUS PURPOSE OF MEETING TOGETHER A COMMON THREAT. IF WE WERE TO BE PARTNERS IN WARTIME, WE SHOULD ALSO BE PARTNERS IN THE FULLEST SENSE OF THE WORD IN PEACETIME.

4. THE SPANISH PEOPLE, HE SAID, ARE PROUD AND SENSITIVE; THEY APPRECIATE AND RESPOND TO FRIENDSHIP AND WOULD REACT WELL TO EVIDENCE OF A REAL U.S. DESIRE TO SUPPORT THEM IN THIS TIME OF ECONOMIC CRISIS BY BEING FOR THEIR PART MORE RESPONSIVE IN MOMENTS OF CRISIS FOR THE U.S. AND THE WEST. HE POINTEDLY SUGGESTED THAT THE SPANISH PEOPLE DO NOT NOW PERCEIVE THE DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP TO BENEFIT SPAIN AS MUCH AS IT DOES THE U.S. IN RESPONSE TO MENTION BY ONE MEMBER OF THE CODEL OF THE IMPORTANCE OF NPW VISITS TO SPANISH PORTS, GUTIERREZ MELLADO RESPONDED QUICKLY THAT THIS WAS AN EXTREMELY DELICATE MATTER AND ON ISSUES JUST SUCH AS THIS IT WAS IMPORTANT TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION IN SPAIN THAT DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. IS A ONE-WAY STREET

5. IN THIS TIME OF ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE WORLD AND IN SPAIN, U.S. MATERIAL ASSISTANCE WOULD BE PARTICULARLY WELCOME, NOT AS CHARITY BUT AS A FUNCTION OF A WORKING

PARTNERSHIP, WITH THE ASSISTANCE TAKING THE FORM NOT OF GIFTS BUT OF JOINT VENTURES, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS, AND GREATER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OF SOME FORM.

6. HE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SAY TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS THAT IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW THE U.S. HAS NOT ADEQUATELY COMPENSATED SPAIN FOR OVER 20 YEARS OF SPANISH DEFENSE COOPERATION. MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS MIGHT NOT RECOGNIZE THE EXTENT OF WHAT SPAIN HAS PROVIDED

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PAGE 01 MADRID 06199 02 OF 03 020951Z

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 NSC-05 PM-03 SP-02 INR-05
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 MADRID 06199

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THE U.S. IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN NO CRISIS DURING THESE YEARS DIRECTLY INVOLVING THESE FACILITIES. HE NOTED AS AN EXAMPLE THE FACT THAT SPAIN IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE OF THE U.K. WHICH HAS PROVIDED FACILITIES FOR SSBN'S, WHICH HAS CERTAINLY PLACED ROTA IN AN IMPORTANT POSITION ON WAR MAPS DRAWN UP IN MOSCOW. IN CONTRAST, U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE HAS GREATLY DIMINISHED IN EFFECTIVENESS DURING THE YEARS OF THIS RELATIONSHIP.

7. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AS TO WHAT SPECIFICALLY THE U.S. MIGHT DO FOR SPAIN, GUTIERREZ MELLADO REPLIED THAT FIRST HE WOULD ASK THAT PRESIDENT CARTER CONSIDER SAYING T THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY THAT THERE SHOULD BE A GENERAL DISPOSITION TO BE HELPFUL. IT WOULD BE THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO DEAL WITH SPECIFICS, BUT HE PREVIEWED WHAT HE WOULD BE SAYING IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS. FIRST, ON THE CIVILIAN SIDE, HE WOULD HOPE FOR ASSISTANCE TO SPANISH INDUSTRY (PRESUMABLY HE MEANT DEFENSE INDUSTRY) WHICH WOULD

NOT ONLY SUPPORT ITS ABILITY TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DOMESTIC MARKET BUT ALSO TO EXPORT TO AREAS SUCH AS LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA. SECOND, HE WOULD HOPE THAT FINANCING COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE ON ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS, IN CONTRAST
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PAGE 02 MADRID 06199 02 OF 03 020951Z

TO SPANISH EXPERIENCE DURING NEGOTIATION OF THE TREATY, WHEN SPAIN WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN FAVORABLE TERMS FOR FMS CREDITS. SPAIN WAS NOT LOOKING FOR ANOTHER MARSHALL PLAN OR OTHER GIFTS. ON THE MILITARY SIDE, IF THERE REALLY WAS A COMMON THREAT, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MIGHT DECIDE TO STOP DEBATING EACH AND EVERY ITEM OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT DESIRED BY SPAIN AND DECIDE TO PROVIDE EVERYTHING THAT IS USEFUL TO IMPROVING SPAIN'S DEFENSE POSTURE.

8. GUTIERREZ MELLADO CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT WHAT THE U.S. HAS IN MILITARY TERMS FROM THE TREATY, OUR BASE FACILITIES, REMAINS THE SAME THROUGHOUT THE LIFE OF THE TREATY, WHEREAS WHAT SPAIN DERIVES FROM THE TREATY IS INCREASING IN PRICE AND DECREASING IN TERMS OF SPAIN'S ABILITY TO MAKE USE OF IT. IN TERMS OF ITS REAL PRACTICAL IMPACT, U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE TODAY IS "ALMOST NIL."

9. COMMENT: WHILE THE THEME THAT SPAIN IS NOT DERIVING ENOUGH BENEFIT FROM ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. MAY HAVE ORIGINATED IN GUTIERREZ MELLADO'S OFFICE, IT HAS RECENTLY SPREAD CONSIDERABLY WITHIN THE GOS. NOT ONLY DID SUAREZ MENTION IT IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 18 BUT WE HAVE HEARD IT RECENTLY FROM VARIOUS OTHER OFFICIALS, INCLUDING SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES, CONGRESS FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN CAMUNAS, UCD PARLIAMENTARY CHIEF PEREZ-LLORCA, AND UCD COORDINATOR ARIAS-SALGADO. IN THE MEETING WITH CODEL BURTON, ARIAS-SALGADO CALLED THIS PERCEPTION BROADLY DIFFUSED AMONG THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

10. SUBSEQUENT TO THE CODEL BURTON MEETING WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO, THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION WITHIN THE CODEL OF THE MERITS OF A VOLUNTARY U.S. ECONOMIC GESTURE TO SPAIN (IN
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PAGE 03 MADRID 06199 02 OF 03 020951Z

ADDITION TO THE "FRONT-LOADING" OF GRANT AID UNDER THE TREATY) DESIGNED TO COMPENSATE SPAIN FOR THE DIMINISHED VALUE OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE UNDER THE TREATY ATTRIBUTABLE TO INFLATION. WHEN THE CODEL MET WITH ARIAS-SALGADO, IT ASKED HIM WHETHER ANY ADDITIONAL U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

TO SPAIN (STRESSING THAT THE QUESTION WAS HYPOTHETICAL) WOULD BE BETTER RECEIVED IF BILLED AS PLAIN ASSISTANCE AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE SPANISH ECONOMY AND THEREBY THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN SPAIN, OR IF BILLED AS DESIGNED TO MAKE UP TO SPAIN UNDER THE TREATY WHAT IT HAD LOST AS A RESULT OF INFLATION. ARIAS-SALGADO UNHESITATINGLY CHOSE THE LATTER. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS DISCUSSION IN PARTICULAR WITH CONGRESSMEN BURTON AND WILSON.

11. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO BE APPRECIATED BY THE GOS IF THERE WERE TO BE AN INVITATION FROM SECRETARY BROWN FOR GUTIERREZ MELLADO TO VISIT THE U.S. WITHOUT WAITING FOR A FORMAL SPANISH GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE.

12. FINALLY, WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT GUTIERREZ MELLADO HAS LACKED THE TIME TO KEEP ABREAST OF ALL ASPECTS OF OUR CURRENT DEFENSE COOPERATION. AS AN ARMY OFFICER, HE ALSO LACKS DIRECT EXPERIENCE WITH THE MOST SUCCESSFUL COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, WHICH HAVE INVOLVED OUR NAVIES AND AIR FORCES. WHILE HIS VIEWS ON THIS MATTER ARE INGRAINED FROM LONG EXPERIENCE, THEIR CURRENT EXPRESSION ALSO REFLECTS BOTH HIS PERSONAL AND GOVERNMENT'S STRONG DESIRES TO ATTACK MORE EFFECTIVELY PRESSING PROBLEMS OF MILITARY MODERNIZATION AND A DEPRESSED DEFENSE INDUSTRY. WE WILL SEEK THE OPPORTUNITY TO BRIEF GUTIERREZ MELLADO MORE FULLY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREATY FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

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PAGE 01 MADRID 06199 03 OF 03 020958Z
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 NSC-05 PM-03 SP-02 INR-05
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4778

INFO JCS WASHDC PRIORITY

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 MADRID 06199

LIMDIS

BEFORE HE VISITS WASHINGTON.

13. THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF CODEL
BURTON AND HAS NOT BEEN SEEN BY CODEL BURTON MEMBERS.
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Message Attributes

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IMPLEMENTATION OF DEFENSE ASPECTS OF THE
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